



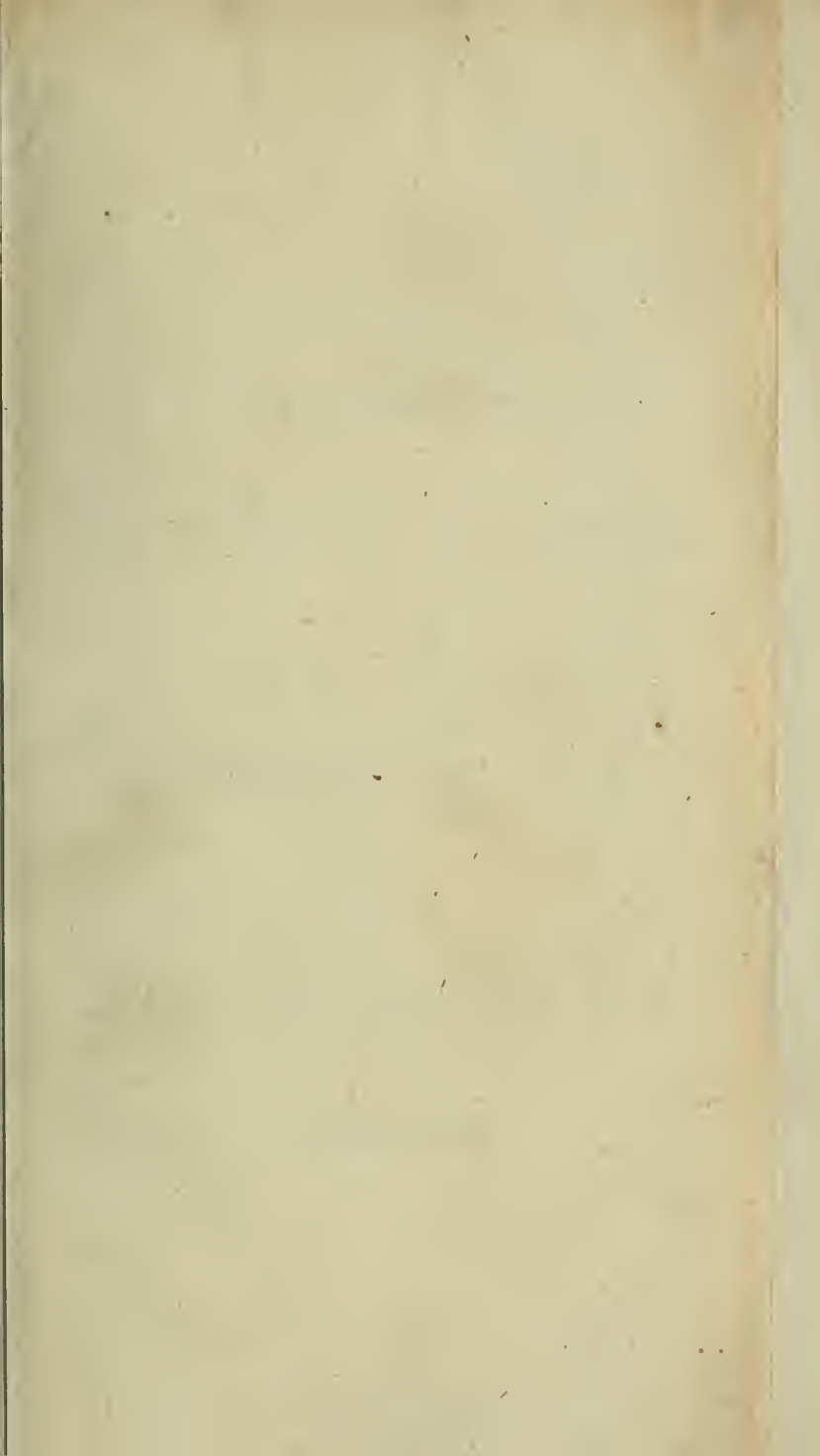
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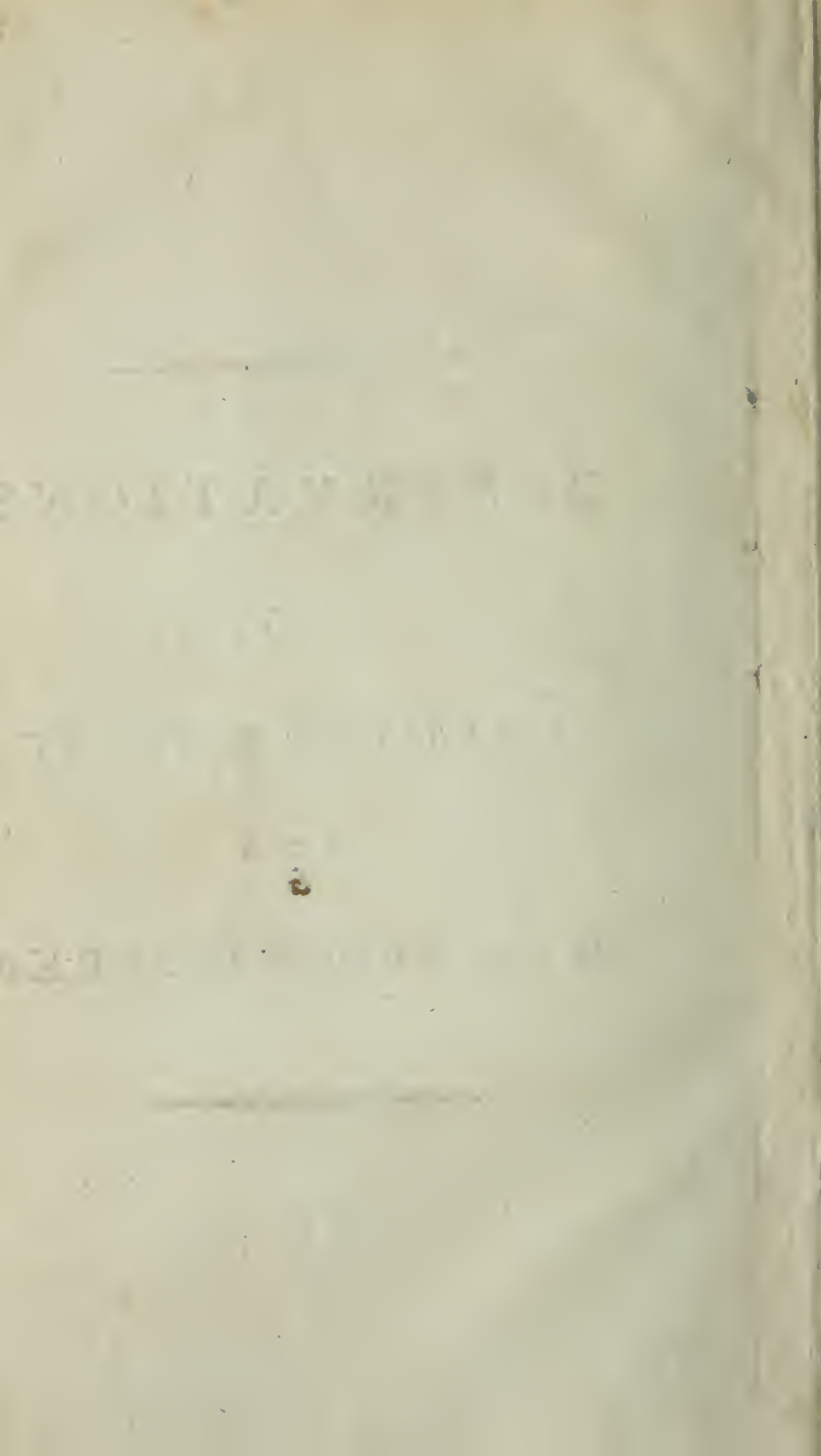
ON THE

CELEBRATED PAMPHLET

OF THE

G

Rt. Hon. EDMUND BURKE.



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Rt. Hon. EDMUND BURKE.

BY DANIEL THOMAS, M. D.

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T H E R E A D E R.

IT may be necessary to observe, that the author, in imitation of other persons, might have objected to several of the positions laid down by Mr. Burke, but as he was anticipated in this task, and as he thought the gentleman might be refuted, his assertions admitted, he resolved to pursue the Socratic method of reasoning, and from his own premises, to shew the falsehood of his conclusions. It may be requisite also to apologize for the inversion of order, which takes place in describing the consequences of chivalry, as gallantry, which had long preceded the union of courage and religion, has been placed by him in a station posterior to both; but, as the destructive tendency of the latter

is obvious and striking, as that of the former is intricate and concealed, he thought proper to reserve the consideration of it to the last, in hopes of impressing the effects of it more strongly on the mind of the reader; he requests that no severe critic may carp at the redundancy of description and declamation, as this defect could not possibly be avoided in an answer to a work, which contains nothing else.

P R E F A C E.

THE praises bestowed by one party on the Sermon of Dr. Price, and the encomiums lavished by another on the remarks of Mr. Burke with respect to the conduct of the National Assembly; the application of each to our present constitution, the design of introducing an alteration therein, avowed by the former, and perhaps equally near to the heart of the latter, oblige me to offer a few remarks on this subject. Dr. Price, under the pretext of establishing liberty, wishes to involve us in all the tumults of a democracy; Mr. Burke, in censuring the fury of the populace, strives to insinuate that it can be restrained, merely by the extended arm of an absolute monarch. These gentlemen, maintaining the necessity of vesting supreme power in the people, or in the prince, are, perhaps, equally faulty, but not equally dangerous, the one making an open attack upon tyranny, the other playing off a masked battery against liberty;

ty ; while the hasty, intemperate, and ungrounded answers which have been offered to the latter, enforce the propriety of discussing the opposite opinions, particularly those which may become formidable, and of inquiring how two men of very high rank in the political world, can be so differently affected by the very same event. Are they the Democritus and Heraclitus of the present age, or does this event, according to their prejudices, act on different persons, like John Bunyan's sermons, which forced one half of the congregation to titter, and the other to weep. Mr. Locke has justly observed, that the interference of our passions prevents morals from being equally demonstrable with mathematics : men, according to their prejudices and predominant affection, feel themselves much interested in determining, whether they should be governed by their equals, or submit to a prince, who conceives himself the delegate of heaven, ushered into existence with an imperial crown on his head, while he supposes subjects to be born with pack-saddles on their backs, but are perfectly indifferent about the properties of a square or triangle. Considering, therefore, a freedom from passion and prejudice to be more requisite in moral discussions, than the most splendid abilities, I shall venture to offer my thoughts to the public, on the respective merits of the two opposite performances, each of which has obtained more admirers than

than reason would warrant. We all know that Calvin established every man, a competent judge of both government and religion; but we are equally certain, that the Jesuits maintained the right divine of kings, and the infallibility of the Pope, *even ex Cathedrâ. Virtus est medium vitiorum, et utrinque reducitur*, and to establish the golden mean between these two, equally blameable extremes, shall be the purport of this little work: in it I shall examine the doctrines of the new Jewry, with respect to the right of election in the people, and the opinions of Mr. Burke, relative to that of hereditary succession; from this I shall proceed to estimate the respective merits of the opposite declamations on the captivity of the degraded monarch—shall inquire whether chivalry merited the praises he has so liberally bestowed on it, and what were the necessary consequences thereof: I shall, in the next place, attempt to determine, whether there existed a possibility of receiving their own constitution renovated, or of adopting that of Great Britain; I shall then offer a very few comments on the robbery of the nobility and clergy, the united force of which reflections, will be found a full reply to all the matter contained in the tract of this honourable gentleman, except the observations which he has hazarded on a subject, with respect to which, neither he, nor any man in these dominions, was capable of judging, much less of deciding.

ciding. But, before I attempt to engage in this task, it will be necessary to establish some principles of reasoning on these important subjects, to which Dr. Price, in his *Essay on Liberty*, notwithstanding a vain parade of definitions and distinctions, has communicated neither precision or clearness, but to which Mr. Burke has paid no attention.

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

ON

Liberty and the Rights of Men.

IF we consult our reason, it clearly points out a spiritual Being, Creator of the universe, and our senses announce matter his creature. The perfection of the former oblige him to obey an intrinsically imposed moral necessity of action; the imperfections of the latter, compel it to be governed by an extrinsically imposed physical necessity. Between these opposite beings, there is a great variety of intermediate creatures, but, at present, we are under no necessity of considering more than animals in general, and that particular species to which reason is superadded. Instinct, the guide of beasts, urging them to obey extrinsically imposed laws, somewhat resembling those of gravitation and impulse, is seldom disobeyed; reason, on the other hand, the director of human beings, is seldom obeyed. As an animal, man is inclined to pursue the dictates of passion, as a rational animal he is bounden in duty to coerce them, whenever they

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proved

proved dissonant to reason. Here, then, are two contradictory principles, one of which prompts man to act in conformity with his instinctive feelings, the other restrains him from it, by representing, that thereby he may incur an evil, or lose a greater good, and in his power of choosing between the motives offered by either, does his liberty consist, as by a blind submission to their passions, men degrade themselves to the level of the beasts, and by rendering the instinctive feelings perfectly submissive to the dictates of reason, they approach to some faint resemblance of their great Creator, it is evident, that the perfection of liberty is founded on obedience to their intellects, and on a coercion of passion. But such is the constitution of human nature, that no man has ever submitted his passions to his reason on every occasion, much less can it be expected, that any number should generally do so; if, however, one person desires what reason does not warrant, he excites a contrariant passion in another, and the state of war immediately takes place, where passion reigns, where brutal force decides, and from which liberty must be necessarily excluded. From the moment in which a comparison of force was made, the stronger party would be inclined to infringe the natural rights of the weaker, whether these, which prime occupancy gave to the spontaneous produce of the earth, or those which the acquiescence of a woman conferred on the first possessor; but this would soon compel the weaker to unite, for the purpose of effecting, by their conjoined strength, what each, individually, was unable to achieve. Thus did reason form the first association of men, in opposition to passion, teaching all of them to submit their particular to the general will, for the general good, and thus does the bare name of society necessarily imply a compact. Here the nature of liberty

berty is materially altered ; that of men, in a state of independence, consisted in a subordination of passion to reason, but when associated, each gives up his particular to the general will on several occasions, which must either be specified, or at least implied in the compact. Moralists consider this as a sacrifice of man's natural liberty to his safety, but it should rather be deemed a method, ordained by reason, for the conservation of freedom against brutal force ; if any right is ceded, it is that of independence for the insurance of security. Liberty then is the birthright of mankind, emanating from the relation which subsists between them and their Creator, and which is, *de jure*, inseparably connected with the nature of human beings ; it is the religious duty of every person to preserve it inviolate, as he, who once can basely resign it, may be compelled, by a tyrant, to violate every relative duty in life. From the sacrifice of their independence to their security, are naturally derived all the other rights of men ; hence flows the right of prime occupancy in the most simple state of association, in the state of the hunter, the right to all the game which he had killed ; in the state of the shepherd, the right to the herds and flocks which he had guarded, and in that of the husbandman, the right to the produce of the grain which he had sown. In civil society, the rights of men increased in proportion to the opportunities of exerting their industry ; but in the same degree that they become more extensive, do we find to increase the difficulty both of ascertaining and securing them. Mr. Burke may demand a reason for the total extinction of liberty, both in fact and in idea, as also for the perfect oblivion of an original compact among the more early inhabitants of the world ; but the answer is easy, conquest taking place at a period, when all events were handed down by oral tradi-

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tion,

tion, and the vanquished being reduced to a state of slavery, empires of such extent were speedily formed, as could only be ruled by the iron hand of despotism, which quickly obliterated every impression, but that of fear, and the members of the conquering society became satisfied to be slaves, provided they were allowed to tyrannise over others, still more abject than themselves. But though conquest might raise to uncontrolled dominion, and the rank of a god the successful chief, who led the invaders, still were the original rights of men, though long lying dormant, by no means obliterated, the archetypes being engraved on the hearts of the species. Liberty is either civil, relating to the security of person and property, or political, determining the share of power which each man should possess in the regulation of the state. It is not a government wherein civil liberty is not perfectly secure, but as political freedom or power may become destructive to it, the latter should be intrusted with certain limitations, and distributed according to the lights of the people, the extent of the country, the number of the inhabitants, their occupations, their industry, and every other relative circumstance. There is an inverse proportion between the degree of political liberty, which any simple form of government can bear, and its defensive powers: if the state be small, freedom may be increased, but its safety diminishes; if, by enlargement, it consults security against a foreign enemy, it must invest some person with powers, proportionate to the necessity for prompt resolution, and speedy execution. The more extended the territory, the more unlimited must these powers be, 'till, in fine, the long arm of despotism becomes requisite; but such a government, if it merits the appellation, is so subversive of all human rights, that nothing, except the most brutal stupidity,

stupidity, could engage men to submit to it. Absolute monarchy nearly approaches to despotism, the only difference being, that in the former the law, not caprice decides, for the most part, on the life and property of the subjects, but as all power centers in the prince, he can, on any occasion, silence the law, and establish a despotism. Of course, this form of government also is, *de jure*, abrogated, no length of prescription can give a sanction to either, and when the people are enabled, they are entitled to destroy them. There are but three simple kinds of government, which can be deemed legitimate, a monarchy, limited by law, preventing the encroachments of the prince, by ascertaining the privileges of the nobility, and the right of the people. But this form of government has one inherent defect, the lustre of the monarch, the splendour of the court naturally attracts the eyes of the nobility, the right of granting lucrative employments, ever vested in the prince, must attach them to the throne, and their desire of distinguishing themselves from the mass of the people, must ever incline them to aid the ambitious views of the crown in the depression of the latter, and absolute monarchy must, of course, be established. The next is a qualified aristocracy, in which the people are drawn forth from a state of insignificance, by some interference in government. But this form also labours under this great defect, if the body of the nobility is numerous, the subject must ever find himself in the presence of power, if it consists of few, they will naturally coincide in the pursuit of their interest, in opposition to that of the people, who, in this case, will not derive any relief from their disagreement.—The last is a democracy, restricted by their awe of a venerable senate. But this form also is equally exceptionable, if the right of citizen was conferred merely

merely on the wealthy, or the suffrages were so collected, that riches, not numbers governed the decisions of the assembly, it would approach to the inconveniencies of an aristocracy. If this right was granted to all the members of the state, and the sense of each individual was taken on every question, it is evident, that the whole power of the state would center in the demagogues. Now, as there are but three legitimate forms of simple government, as each labours under an inherent defect, as this is heightened by the extent of territory, and as a small state is incapable of self defence, it must be admitted that a mixed government is most conformable to reason. Law is the expression of the general will for the general good, determining in what cases men should give up the right of private judgment; wherever it reigns, there liberty may exist, and, in proportion to the wisdom of the laws, will it approach to perfection, but where they are not established, or can be overruled, in such societies liberty cannot exist.

APPLICATION OF THIS.

HAVING offered an idea of liberty, of the rights which men derive from the resignation of their natural independence, and of law formed to insure the enjoyment of them, I am now prepared to examine the doctrines of the New Jewry, as represented by Mr. Burke, for not having Dr. Price's work by me, I am incapable of determining whether he has justly quoted his sentiments. Mr. Burke makes him assert three rights in Englishmen derived from the revolution, that of choosing a governor, of cashiering him for misconduct, and that

that of framing a government for themselves ; now it is evident that no man in his senses could make these doctrines apply to established governments, that these rights existed before the rude states of society, and that they were prior to the compact between the chief magistrate and the people. That in consequence of the original compact, there were established laws which the nation agreed to obey, and the prince to rule by, to which laws we gave the appellation of the constitution ; but to establish those rights by the revolution which had existed for a long time prior to the formation of any compact, must be acknowledged most palpable nonsense. Mr. Burke must, therefore, either have cavilled at a loose expression, or have perverted the meaning of his antagonist. He should recollect, that an hereditary succession to the crown of England was established, not for the advantage of the king, but of the people, and with the view of preventing the various inconveniencies of an elective monarchy ; that if George III. violated his coronation oath, the subjects were absolved from that of allegiance ; that if, like Charles I. he levied shipmoney by his own authority, or like James II. he turned Papist, in either case, he would be, *de jure*, dethroned, and force alone must determine whether he should be so *de facto* likewise, or a despotism should be established. Mr. Burke next attacks the opinions of Dr. Price, with respect to representation in the legislature of any kingdom, but in opposition to them, he substitutes merely assertions for arguments. Dr. Price maintains that an equal representation is the foundation of all constitutional liberty, and legitimate governments.* Now, to determine

* See Burke, page 82. That a representation in the legislature of a kingdom is not only the basis of all constitutional liberty in it, but of all legitimate government ; that without it a government

determine this matter, it is necessary; merely to ascertain the meaning of the terms, equal representation. Now, every nation may be said to be equally represented, if the people have a right of electing representatives, exactly proportioned to their lights, and to their interest in the welfare of the community, provided always that the other branches of the legislature are effectually prevented from interfering in them; if the people possess a degree of weight superior to their abilities, the most ignorant and most unprincipled of men may be returned, and if the dregs of the people are entrusted with the right of voting, the constitution will be sold for porter and geneva; if the nobles rule elections, an aristocracy takes place, and if the prince sways in them, absolute monarchy is established. The counties and cities may be considered, in general, as pretty equally represented, though it must be acknowledged, that the king, and leading men, who possess an absolute dominion over the decayed boroughs, have also too great influence in many of them; insomuch that if our mode of representation does not amount to a nuisance, (as Dr. Price supposes) it ill merits the praises lavished on it by Mr. Burke. This gentleman next proceeds to that part of Dr. Price's Sermon, in which he mentions the captivity of the degraded monarch*, but it is not wonderful that persons,

government is nothing but an usurpation; that when the representation is partial, the kingdom possesses liberty only partially; and if extremely partial, it gives only a semblance; and if not only extremely partial, but corruptly chosen, it becomes a nuisance.

* See Burke, page 96. What an eventful period is this, I am thankful that I have lived to it. I could almost say, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes
" have

persons, differing so widely in principle, and not discussing the subject with philosophical candour, should be found to differ so materially in their feelings. Equally enthusiasts in opposite causes, the one hears all nature re-echoing the groans, and the lamp of day ready to be extinguished by the death of the monarch, while the other, willing to sacrifice the whole race of kings at the altar of liberty, publicly exults in the humiliation of a prince, who might plead precedent as an excuse for his errors; they both possess considerable, though contradictory abilities, but neither of them can boast the slightest tincture of philosophical apathy. I can feel for the degraded monarch, and could shed a tear of compassion on those vicissitudes of fortune which humble the great, but I must rejoice at being informed, that by them thirty millions of men have acquired their natural freedom. Mr. Burke, wishing more tenderly to interest our affections, calls forth the attractions of the fair in aid of his eloquence, and such attractions as have been seldom displayed on the theatre of the world. I admire him for his political description of the queen, and love him for his tender sympathy in her distresses; at this very moment I feel the hot blood dart impetuous from my heart at the recollection of her charms, returning cold and languid to the source of life at the recital of her sufferings. For I too have seen her, adorned with all the luxuriance of beauty, by which painters distinguish the Mother of the Loves, and that delicacy of tints, which are blended in the

“have seen thy salvation.” I have lived to see a diffusion of knowledge, which has undermined superstition and error. I have lived to see the rights of men better understood than ever; and nations panting for liberty which seemed to have lost the idea of it. I have lived to see thirty millions of people, indignant and resolute, spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice; their king led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch surrendering himself to his subjects.

cheek of a blooming Hebe, equally formed to excite, and to gratify desire—Majesty sat enthroned on her front, sweetness beamed from her eye, and sensibility spoke through her animated frame. Yet, at that time, did she not shine forth in the full meridian lustre of her charms, as a melancholy event* had lately thrown a veil over their splendour, but even then, did the slightest motion, like the action of the sun, dispel the envious cloud which concealed their brilliancy, and from the soft expanse of her radiant bosom, blazed forth all the glories of day. I do not blame him for dilating on the terrors of that shocking scene, and most warmly resenting the outrages offered to the shrine of beauty;—outrages, at the bare mention of which myriads of swords must have flashed forth from the thighs of all brave men, illuminating the darkness, and avenging the horrors of that guilty night, had not Minerva checked their hands, wisely representing to them, that the nefarious acts of a mob do not contaminate an entire nation, and assuring them, that the French are a brave and generous people; that they are still the countrymen of Grillon and of d'Orte†. But I must assert that he is highly reprehensible for imputing to the mild lights of humanizing philosophy, the frantic barbarities of an ignorant mob, and (because a few individuals, the most contemptible and hateful of the entire inhabitants have been guilty of crimes) for wishing to

* The death of Lewis XV.

† When Henry III. commanded Grillon to assassinate the Duke of Guise, he refused, but offered to fight him. When the same prince wrote to Viscount d'Orte to have all the Protestants in his government assassinated, he thus replied, "Sire; I have sought among the military, and the inhabitants, and have found only brave soldiers, good citizens, and not a single executioner. Thus, both they and I implore your majesty to command our lives and fortunes in things that are practicable."

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preach up an extirpating crusade against the whole kingdom. I do not find fault with his lavishing effusion of praises on the ancient chivalry, for devoid of prejudice, I admit, even the shadow of truth, whenever it is presented to me (though I fancy that he has far over-rated its merit) but I cannot bear that he should give it the preference to philosophy, the parent of toleration, and nurse of philanthropy. In order duly to estimate the value of chivalry, we must investigate its origin, and accompany it in its advancement, in which task I shall now engage with all possible conciseness.—

The wild declamations of a frantic enthusiast excited the ardour of Europe to rescue from the hands of infidels, that precious land over which Christ humbly walked, attended by a small number of fishermen, women and children; nor did the efforts of fanaticism fail to be seconded by the address of a Pope, equally famed for policy and ambition. The nobles were, at that time, brave, turbulent, equally immersed in debts and in crimes; the people were a herd, which their masters milked and drove at their pleasure. Visions of conquest quickly filled the heads of the barons, promising them the enjoyment of splendour and affluence; besides, to all such persons as would take up the cross, the Pope offered a plenary remission of their sins; and thus was all Europe set instantly in motion; thus was formed that celebrated conjunction of superstition and courage which gave rise to chivalry, and produced, in future, such memorable events. The ignorance of the leaders, and the total want of union among them, prevented the efficacy of numbers and of valour; these vast armies mouldering away almost insensibly, and in a great measure, without being opposed to an enemy*. The little

* See Voltaire's Universal History.

knowledge of the world was, at that time, confined to Asia, the few crusaders, therefore, who returned, acquired a small degree of information, but for her lights Europe paid one half her inhabitants, a very high price for so trifling an advantage, and thus far the balance will hardly turn in favour of chivalry prior to this period. The conquests of the Moors had produced considerable changes in Europe. This people was, at that time, acquainted with the arts, and had acquired a tincture of science, which rendered them capable of communicating to their neighbours some small degree of information. The Spaniards, in particular, most nearly connected with them, were so stricken with the wonders which the ornamental arts afforded, and described them in such glowing colours, that to this day, building Spanish castles passes as an expression, synonymous with romancing. The fire of Africa instantly burst forth at the sight of those delicate beauties, to which temperate climates give birth, and every possible effort was made to obtain them. Brave, ostentatious, and amorous, they delighted in tilts and tournaments, the emblems of war; in these did the men display their prowess, at these did the ladies preside, and grant marks of their regard to the favoured cavaliers. At these meetings was the utmost magnificence displayed, in these did the magic charms of music, and the lascivious motions of the dance, softening the mind, relax the springs of virtue, while luxury, both excited and supported sensuality. Thus was gallantry introduced. From the Moors were tournaments transferred to the several countries of Europe, but as the nations who received were by far inferior in improvement to that from which the custom was borrowed, so was the gallantry reigning in their assemblies still more gross and brutal. The union of gallantry with courage and religion, completed the spirit

spirit of chivalry, which most certainly softened the manners of men, but whether Europe derived a lvan tage from the change, it shall be now my business to inquire. To place this matter in the clearest point of view, I shall make some reflections on the three constituent parts of chivalry, considering each of them with respect to its nature and consequence. If we attend to the religion of chivalry, we shall find it to be a furious superstition, formed by wild and gloomy imaginations, representing the beneficent Father of all, as pleased with the fasting, penance, and mortification of his creatures, and imposing an unlimited obedience to an infallible chief. It created a vast number of imaginary beings inimical to mankind, which it constantly let loose to haunt the human species. Every person who died by his own hand, or suffered for his crimes, or quitted this world without the rites of the church, was asserted, and believed frequently to appear, and often very much to injure the living; elves, fairies, goblins, formed other *dramatis personæ* in this infernal representation, which inspired pure terror without any alternation of the softer passions. Devils were exhibited vomiting forth flames, and attended by an hopeful progeny of lesser imps: some women were supposed to hold an intercourse of love with dæmons, and thus were the incubus and succubus introduced into the catalogue; others, though not receiving them as paramours, were maintained to keep up a correspondence with them in consequence of a bargain, stricken between them, by which the devil bound himself to obey their commands in this life, on consideration of being rewarded with their persons after death, and in consequence of this opinion, witches and warlocks, forcerers and persons with evil eyes, were superadded to the list. Nothing could repress the malice, or confound the activity of these infernal agents,

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but sanctified water, sanctified ashes, and sanctified oil, of these the priests enjoyed the undisputed possession, and as the price of such safe-guards, did they drain the people of considerable sums. Not content with giving birth to these frightful chimæras, superstition proceeded to represent the deity as continually interfering in the government of the moral world, as rewarding virtue and punishing vice; the consequences of this dogma were exceedingly obvious, and immediately struck the imagination of men, for if the Divinity meddled in their trifling concerns, he was more strongly bounden to take an active part in their more important affairs. Thus were the cavaliers induced to make an appeal to heaven, and thus was established the judicial combat, an institution so congenial with, and so naturally emanating from the conjoined spirit of religion and courage, that though the clergy afterwards strove to repress it, they were never capable of inducing the cavaliers to relinquish the right of legal murder, and whether this was an advantage may reasonably be doubted. But other consequences of a less dubious nature quickly ensued, and the spirit of a bigotted superstition, totally rejecting the curb of reason, plunged men into the most frantic absurdities. Witchcraft was universally allowed, though to free a woman from the imputation and penalty, we must suppose her really a witch, since the caprice of any person could suggest the idea, in consequence of which the trial by water immediately took place, but if she sunk, she lost her life, and if she floated she was burned.—Uncommon longevity, a humped back, or a bleared eye, were formerly deemed infallible signs of a witch. Thus did old age, instead of procuring respect, insure general abhorrence, and defects, whether natural or adventitious, brought annually large numbers to the faggot. The world determining
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according to this precious maxim, mark those whom God has marked. But the ordeal completed the extravagances of fanaticism: In the former case, merely the old and the ugly suffered, in the latter, youth and beauty on the slightest suspicion of a jealous pated husband, might be exposed to certain destruction, no woman having the least hopes of escaping, unless she had been previously a whore to the clergy, who regulated the transactions of the trial at their pleasure. Now I hope that the destruction of the fair will not be esteemed an advantage by a gallant man and a cavalier. The courage of chivalry merited little more praises than the religion; it was a mere animal passion, independent on reason, which had for its entire foundation a confidence in a supposed superiority of prowess, and by no means resembled that dignified intrepidity of the soul which conscious of fighting in the cause of rectitude, is alike superior to fatigue, pain, and death. That ferocity was strongly intermixed with it, will clearly appear from the intended treatment of our Edward III. to the brave defenders of Calais; that ostentation was equally conspicuous therein, will be fully evinced by the titles of the knights and the style of their challenges. I am in the last place to consider the gallantry.—Mr. Burke is much mistaken, if he imagines the gallantry of chivalry to have been the same with that which reigned in the court of Lewis IV. where shone forth a galaxy of beauties in all the dignified pride of royalty without force, and where the monarch was the first slave to their charms, where men did not hope to gain the smiles of the fair by military fame alone, but where wit and wisdom contended with it for the prize, Science boasting herself ancillary to sentiment. When the empire of the fair was supported by the soft expression of languishing eyes, irradiated by exquisite sensibility

lity of the mind, and where the continual enjoyment of all the elegant superfluities afforded by the arts, excited the imagination and refined the taste. Where the weakness of the softer sex became their force, where their inferiority conferred on them an undisputed pre-eminence, and where their frailty was considered as angelic perfection. Where delicacy displayed all the attractions which could allure the senses, or enslave the understanding, but where the aspick vice, stung with greater certainty, because concealed in roses. The gallantry of chivalry was totally different. The sex was, indeed, admired, but viewed with the same eye which, in the head of an alderman, leers at a turtle, their bodies were objects of desire, and their minds of contempt. The cavalier, considering military fame and personal beauty, as the only recommendation of either sex to the other, boasted of his achievements, and extolled the charms of the fair one, in all the bombastic expressions of romance. As the mind had no share in forming their connexions, the woman adored to-day, on the morrow was slighted, but equally divested of sentiment with the gallant, she quickly consoled herself for his inconstancy, by bouncing into the arms of another lover. If the gallantry of chivalry was indelicate, the luxury of it was still more gross; an unwieldy load of meat crowded the festive board, equally devoid of variety and taste, while the banquet was succeeded by a swinish intemperance, which was not confined to the male sex alone. In their dress was displayed as little delicacy as at their tables, the vain glitter of tawdry finery, forming the entire recommendation of those trappings with which they loaded themselves on days of state, and which a modern beau or belle would be unable to support. A wanton profusion supplied the place of real magnificence, œconomy was unknown, or misconstrued

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into avarice, and the entire income of several years was frequently expended in making preparations for a single tournament. What then were the obvious consequences of that chivalry, the destruction of which Mr. Burke so much regrets? The loss to Europe of one half of her inhabitants; a horrid superstition, teeming with this monstrous progeny, the judicial combat, the trial by water, and that by fire also; a fulsome bombastic adulation of the fair; a gross sensuality; an unbounded profusion; with a courage of passion, equally vaunting and ferocious. I would now ask this ingenious gentleman, whether he would desire a second depopulation of Europe? Whether he would be pleased to hold his estate by the tenure of excelling in the use of Wogdon's pistols? Whether, if his neighbour's cows should slacken in their milk, or his cream not yield its butter as readily as was usual, it would gratify his feelings to see his wife torn from his arms, and plunged into the next whirlpool, while the fondest wish which affection could suggest, must be to see her speedily swallowed up, lest floating, she should be reserved to a more cruel death? Whether he would be delighted on any caprice of a jealous husband, at seeing his daughter obliged to prove her innocence, by walking on her bare feet unhurt, over red hot plough-shares. Would he wish to exchange his courtly stile and polite address for the disgustingly hyberbolical adulation of chivalry? Would a man descending into the vale of years attempt to inculcate a gross sensuality, or would the strict inquirer into national expenditures be happy in introducing an unbounded prodigality? Would a venerable senator exchange the cool courage of modern heroism, neither ruffled by rage or stained by fear, for the boasting of a bully and the ferocity of a tyger? or would he be happy in the extinction of philosophy, and blessed in the re-

turn of that glorious period, wherein Galileo was obliged to renounce his errors before the tribunal of the inquisition?—Having touched on the consequences of chivalry, so far as they relate to morals and manners, I am now to consider them in a political light. The feudal system was a compound of several lesser principalities under one supreme monarchy. The barons, on their own lands, exercised all the rights of sovereignty: They had courts of justice, in which they presided; they coined money and waged war with each other. The lord paramount, or the prince, was indeed acknowledged their superior, but their dependence on him was very inconsiderable. They were obliged, by their tenure, to accompany him in his wars for a certain limited time, and the individual who refused was liable to punishment, but if they generally ranged themselves under his banners, they, on particular occasions, advanced their troops in martial array, adverse to his authority. Each particular baron submitted to, but the united body ruled, the sovereign. Montesquieu asks, did ever monarch hate monarchy, or despot despotism? Never, the love of power is the ruling passion of the human mind, and is found even in those abject souls which tremble at the exercise of it; no wonder then that the barons, absolute sovereigns in their own castles, were unwilling to quit them, and to appear in the presence of the monarch, where they shone with an inferior and borrowed lustre. But from the moment in which gallantry was introduced, princes perceived that the ladies might be rendered the fittest instruments for the promotion of arbitrary power. From this moment the courts of monarchs shone with redoubled splendour, and every effort was made to contrive a constant succession of amusements, the novelty of which might attract, and the diversity prevent satiety; fancy
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was ever employed in search of what was pleasing, as the person who suggested any thing agreeable, was ever sure of being graciously received. This disposition afforded encouragement to the useful and ornamental arts, which, in their turn, gave new flights to fancy and correctness to taste. That tawdry glare of finery, and those heavy incumbrances which formerly passed for ornaments, but which, in reality, tended merely to disguise beauty, were gradually laid aside, and such decorations adopted as seemed calculated to display and give a relief to the charms of the fair. When instead of the lavish expence and gaudy parade of a single tournament, the ladies were accustomed to a continual rotation of more elegant amusements, they began to consider the gloomy castles of the barons only as sepulchres, in which they were buried, and to deem themselves living merely under the influence of the enlivening sun, which irradiated the court; while the lure of a more elegant sensuality caused these haughty chiefs to stoop from their towering flights of ambition, and taught them to obey the hand of their master. Here was a deadly blow given to the independence of the barons, and cavaliers: if formerly they found themselves injured in their circumstances by the expences attendant on any particular exhibition, by retiring to their castles, they might in some time retrieve them; but where refinement drew all persons to the court, and they who did not belong to it, were holden in no consideration; when the expence of maintaining a rank in life was not excessive and momentary, but considerable and permanent, the baron, who this year incurred a debt, must, in order to support his dignity, treble it the next year, and thus proceed in a geometrical proportion, 'till, in fine, he perceived himself a wretched dependant on the bounty of that prince who was formerly accus-

ed to call him his companion. Other circumstances likewise concurred to diminish the independence of the barons, and add to the power of the prince. The invention of gunpowder concluded the reign of chivalry, and caused a total change in the manners of men. Formerly the cavalier, clad in armour, accustomed to martial exercises, and confident of his dexterity in the management of his horse and the direction of his lance, had, in every enjoyment, nothing to apprehend from ordinary foes, and little to fear from those of his own rank; each tournament presented all the dangers of war, and scarcely do we hear of any bloodshed among the cavaliers in either. But fire arms quickly introduced a new scene; the armour of the cavalier was perceived to be but a poor defence against a musket ball, and brittle as glass before the irresistible artillery; this safeguard of the prince, this strength of every army, speedily therefore dwindled into contempt. The bodies of disciplined ruffians, led by their condottieri, and hired to such monarchs as chose to purchase their services, with the establishment of standing armies, rendered princes still more independent on the assistance of the barons, and as they became daily more useless, they became daily more neglected. It may be demanded how monarchs, who originally possessed but a small territorial property, were enabled to support the splendour of the crown, and effect such great changes; the answer, however, is exceedingly easy.—Exclusive of the general contributions which they usually received on any emergency, the sale of franchises to the towns where the lately introduced arts were cultivated, with the duties on the several articles exported and imported, afforded such a revenue to the prince, the value of money being purely relative, as instantly precipitated the ballance in his favour. From the very moment that
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fire-arms were introduced, the character of courage was totally changed, it becoming, instead of a transient passion, a fixed energy of the mind, founded, not on a supposed superiority of prowess, but on a contempt of danger; not on the hot blood of chivalry, but on a cool sense of honour. Since that period, bodily force was holden in no estimation; the size of an Ajax only exposing him to greater danger, and his strength proving no protection against a Pigmy. Arts are ever of a social nature, the useful and ornamental had been already cultivated, of course there was room made for the introduction of the polite; thus was the imagination of men engaged, and freed from the necessity of spending their whole time in martial exercises, they had leisure for application to mental improvements, and at the same time, were furnished with materials for it. An intercourse with the fair sex ever tends to polish the manners of men, naturally inclined to imitate what they ardently love; but as the attention of both sexes was now directed to the embellishment of their minds, their familiarity was increased, and politeness became proportionally more diffused. To the athletic exercises succeeded those which were calculated to communicate grace, and the bodies of the men speedily acquired a feminine elegance and softness. The fair sex was no longer considered as handsome compositions of wholesome flesh and blood, capable of affording a hearty meal to an eager appetite, men began to admire the delicacy, nay the fragility of their form; the mind also claimed their attention, vivacity of wit, correctness of taste, and delicacy of sentiment, engaging reason to warrant the assertions of passion. In fact, the lover believed his mistress to be something superior to human nature, and imagined, that through the crystalline transparency of her frame, he discerned the elegant play

play of her soul, while the ladies were taught to live themselves in man. Thus were both sexes brought to assimilate, and thus did their resemblance render them the objects of a more tender passion to each other when the work of sentiment was completed. Science began to offer a relief from the satiety of pleasures, which in the seventeenth century was perceivable in all Europe, but more particularly in France. All the decorations of the ornamental, and all the flattery of the polite arts had been already lavished on the ladies and the monarch, but to render them rational beings, it was necessary to free them from the thralldom of superstition under which they had long laboured. This began to take place in the reign of Lewis XIV. that ignorant tyrant granting marks of his favour to several men of letters ; but when a taste for knowledge was once introduced, it became impossible to confine it within the limits prescribed by superstition, a Boyle, a Montesquieu, and a Voltaire speedily teaching mankind to reason. The latter period of this reign was therefore the æra in which gallantry, sentiment and taste, united with science, at once to strengthen and polish the human mind, and to offer in that court such a group of figures as had never before been exhibited to an admiring world ; but that men were little indebted for this to the spirit of chivalry, has, I think, been fully evinced. This institution by introducing gallantry, sensuality, and an habitual profusion, rendered the barons and cavaliers dependant indeed on the bounty of the monarch, but all the good consequences which ensued, were derived from the policy of princes giving encouragement to arts and sciences ; from the fatal change which took place in the mode of making war, and from the consequent subordination of the body to the mind ; from the assimilation of the sexes, and from the advancement

ment of knowledge. But granting, *ex abundanti*, (as the schoolmen phrase it) that all these consequences should be ascribed to chivalry, I shall now attempt to shew them under the appearance of advantages to have been but specious evils. At this period, if ever, could men truly boast of that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom. Never, if not then, could they pique themselves on the unbought grace of life, the cheap defence of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise. Never could they plume themselves on that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honour which felt a stain, did he say like a wound? he should have said, which felt a stain more poignant than the pangs of ten thousand deaths, and pursued to the tribunal of the Deity, the person who had once presumed to cast it. Which inspired courage, while it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which vice itself lost half its evil, by losing all its grossness. Now here I must observe, that this beautiful succession of tautologous epithets, which fascinating the imagination, leads away the reason prisoner, does not evince that they are strictly applicable, and this I shall at present attempt to point out. Never was zeal so conspicuously shewn as during the reigns of the two late monarchs, but more particularly of the first, though the infamous Richelieu had destroyed the privileges of the nobility, of the parliaments, and of the third estate, still was the entire nation happy to risk their lives, to impair their health, and to ruin their fortunes in hopes of advancing the glory of the prince. Never was obedience more explicit or disinterested, never was recompence more equivocal or illiberal. The prince, surrounded by the flatterers of his court,

court, was taught to consider nothing superior to his fortune and his fame, while the trophies which his troops acquired in the fields of Mars, and he obtained in the realms of beauty, encouraged the idea of universal monarchy. In this vain project he was assisted by the most undaunted courage, and the most consummate abilities which were ever displayed in Europe, or recorded in the annals of modern history. But what were the consequences? Temporary conquests, and permanent losses; admiration in France, and detestation out of it. Even in his own dominions, towards the conclusion of his reign, the opinion of judicious persons began to alter, as may be perceived by that sarcastic epigrammatic epitaph, which was made on Lewis XIV. when he lay embalmed, *ci jait Lewis, comme il vecut a Versailles, sans tete, sans cœur, sans entrailles.*—In fact, the more sensible part of the nation observed, that under pretence of supporting the dignity of the French monarchy, he was ruining her present strength, and exhausting, by anticipation, her future resources. But Mr. Burke may think this prince worthy of a better fate; may regret that Luxembourg did not unite the states of Holland to the dominions of France, and then thunder at the palace gates of St. James's, teaching to Englishmen by the irresistible eloquence of the *ultima ratio regum*, a lesson of submission to the Grand Monarque, and our holy father the Pope. As the hon. gentleman is delighted with *visions*, he might indulge his imagination in the pleasing day-dream of being freed from the incumbrances of a wife and a family; might flatter himself with the hope of being introduced into the house of some fashionable woman, where Monsieur l'Abbé by his personal beauty, by the eloquence of his manners, the readiness of his wit, the luxuriance of his imagination, and the force of his eloquence, might, in a short time, recommend himself

self to a mitre. But he should, on the other hand, consider that he might perhaps have been sent into the service, and that after a period of twenty-one years, spent in the honourable pursuit of dangers, he might, a beggar in circumstances, with a mangled body, and a broken constitution, obtain as a recompence the honour of a cross, not worth three farthings, and starve through the remainder of life, on *roti a la roiale*. The gentleman may find but little inconvenience in admitting, on the same footing, the liquefaction of St. Januarius's blood, the translation of the church belonging to our lady of Loretto, the immaculate conception of the Virgin herself, the mission of Christ, and the existence of a God ; but as nothing is perpetual, even in that religion of infallibility, and the Jesuits are secularized, he should tremble at the idea of being obliged, under all the terrors of the inquisition, to confess every miracle of the Abbé Paris. Does Mr. Burke seriously think, that such a dignified submission to the will of a tyrant, as engaged the nation to adopt the views of his ambition with a spirit of Quixotism, which rendered it a scourge to Europe, but still more destructive to its own happiness, could ever deserve to be esteemed a blessing? Does he conceive that such indifference about the blood of men, slaughtered to gratify the caprice of the sovereign, as engaged a hero * viewing the field of battle, which was strowed with thousands of his butchered countrymen, influenced by the utmost insensibility of courage, to observe, that a night at Paris would repair all the loss, should be deemed a benefit to human nature at large? May we not doubt, whether that subordination of the heart was not introduced by the spirit of chivalry, and was not fostered by the folly of the no-

* Conde the Great.

bility, content to wear chains, provided they were varnished with the tinsel of the court, or whether it did not proceed from their haughtiness, which considered, as their greatest glory, implicit obedience to the commands of a prince, but deemed it their utmost disgrace to be confounded with the body of the people. Might not this spirit of liberty, in slavery, prove the spirit of real tyranny, and the very same which reigned in the kings, created by the Romans, *quos, quo instrumenta servitutis haberent, reges creaverunt*; and as these kings were satisfied to become the tools of Roman despotism, provided they were established despots in their own country, might not the nobility of France be contented to become the instruments of arbitrary power, on condition that a portion of it was delegated to each of them in his own little district.—Mr. Burke laments, that, the cheap defence of nations, and nurse of heroic enterprize is gone. Yet I must assert, that from the establishment of absolute monarchy, or from the reign (as I may call it) of Cardinal Richelieu to the late revolution, it was never once exerted in repelling invasion, but always in unjustifiable attacks on the neighbouring nations, equally destructive to them and to France; that chastity of honor is also gone. Yet so cold is my heart, that, for my soul, I cannot regret the loss of a principle, which compelled the best friends to cut the throats of each other, if unfortunately, they happened to differ in opinion, without having previously demanded pardon of the involuntary impropriety which they committed; that too is gone, under which vice itself lost half its evil, by losing all its grossness; but this is so nearly connected with loyalty to the fair sex, that I am obliged to examine them together. The gallantry, the politeness and the delicate flattery of courts have had, for their panegyrists, courtiers in all
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ages, but let us reflect on the meaning of the words and strive to determine what each of them imports. Gallantry implies a total want of attachment to the hymeneal chain, concealed under the veil of sentiment and mental affection. What are the first consequences of it? A general contradiction to all the purposes, for which matrimony was instituted; a decrease of population, a very great doubt with respect to the paternity, and a consequent indifference for the support or the advancement of the children. What is politeness? That disdainful goodness, which marks, either, that you do, or at least that you ought to belong to the court, substituting a borrowed for a real grandeur. What is flattery? A masked battery, raised against the person you pretend to admire; a magic spell, administered to princes, for the purpose of destroying all exertions of reason. It supposes the extinction of truth, the abolition of magnanimity and a perfect contempt of himself in the person who uses it. Rather would I live in the wilds of Æthiopia, exposed to the scorching sun, the fury of the wild beasts,, and to the scarcely less savage ferocity of the nations, than I would cast such a stain on the dignity of human nature : *εχθρος γαρ μοι κεινος ὄρω; αἰδέομαι* Πύλη σιν, ὃς κίτερου μευ κίμθαι ἐπιφρεσιν, αλλο δὲ βαζει. * If the sudden corruscations of a glaring imagination, had not, like the lightning's flash, stricken men blind, and prevented them from perceiving the steady lustre of truth; no person could consider the extinction of these principles, but as the very greatest of blessings. Yet of such a disposition are the generality of men, that they pass encomiums on an agreeable work, without inquiring into its intrinsic merit, and continue to praise it, because

* The man who this can think and that can tell,
I hate him as I hate the gates of hell.

they had once begun : to rouse the judgment of such persons from its lethargy, it may be necessary to adduce, in support of my assertions, a respectable authority, and for this purpose I shall quote Montesquieu, who may, with reason, be deemed the parent of sound politics. This great man thus expresses himself page 47 *duodecimo* edition : * I beg that people will not be offended at what I say ; I speak in conformity with all histories. I know very well that it is not rare to find virtuous princes, but I say that in a monarchy, it is very difficult that the people should be virtuous. Let men read what historians of all times have said with respect to the court of monarchs. Let them recollect the conversations of men of all countries, with respect to the wretched character of courtiers : these are not matters of bare speculation, but of sad experience. Ambition in idleness, meanness, conjoined with haughtiness ; the desire of being enriched without labor ; the aversion from truth, flattery, treason, perfidy ; the relinquishment of all their en-

* Je supplie qu'on ne s'offense pas dece que j'ai dit ; je parle apres toutes les histoires, je scai tres bien qu'il n'est pas rare, qu'il y ait des Princes vertueux, mais je dis que, dans une monarchie, il est tres difficile que le peuple le soit. Qu'on lise ce que les historiens de tous les temps ont dit sur la cour de monarques ; qu'on se rappelle les conversations de hommes de tous les pais, sur le miserable caractere des courtisans : ce ne sont pas des choses de speculation, mais d'une triste experience. L'ambition dans l'oisiveté, la bassesse, dans l'orgueil, le desir de s'enricher sans travail, l'aversion pour la verité, la flatterie, la trahison, la perfidie, l'abandon de tous ses engagements, le mepris des devoirs du citoyen, la crainte de la vertu du prince, l'esperance des ses foibleesses, et plus que tout cela, le ridicule perpetuel jette sur la vertu forment, je crois, le caractere du plus grand nombres des courtisans, marquée dans tous les lieux, et dans les temps, or il est tres mal aisé que la plupart des principaux d'unl etat soient des malhonnetes gens et que les inferieurs soient des gens de bien ; que ceux la soient trompeurs, et que ceux ci consentent autre que dupes.

gagements ;

gagements; the contempt of the duties of a citizen; the dread of the prince's virtue, hopes derived from his weakness, and above all, the perpetual ridicule, thrown on virtue, form, I believe, the character of the greater number of courtiers, marked in all places and in all times. Now it is very difficult, that the greater part of the chiefs, in a state, should be dishonest persons, and that the inferiours should be men of worth; that the one should be deceivers, and that the others should consent to be mere dupes to their arts!—Having described the natural tendency of absolute monarchy and chivalry, its instrument, I am now to point out the manner, in which the conjoined force of each has given rise to the greatest of evils, under which this nation has ever yet groaned. An habitual attachment to the athletick exercises, which subsisted long after the cause of it had ceased; and a partial neglect of mental accomplishments, even at a period, when the exertions of reason were powerfully elicited, exposed every monarch to the daily risk of establishing dangerous precedents. The cool and perspicacious change with terror, the settled order of things; while the ignorant, and inconsiderate, foresee no danger in establishing such an inversion of it, as may totally derange the whole system of government. To Francis the first, when playing at tennis, an official paper was one day presented, on which the monarch, engaged by the amusement, cried to his secretary, *signez pour moi, mon bon pere*; but could this prince have foreseen, that thereby he would transfer the royal signet to every bureau in France, and render the monarch the involuntary tyrant over his entire subjects; he would never have afforded to such a proceeding, the sanction of precedent. But could this generous hero have taken a perspective of the Bastile, and have observed the horrid scenes, that have been concealed

cealed within these nefarious walls ; he would have shrunk back from so frightful a picture, and cursed his mother who bore such a firebrand to France. It has often been remarked that exalted characters, when under the pressure of misfortune, ever find a vast consolation in the certainty of being looked up to by the world : this engaged Leonidas to offer himself a voluntary sacrifice in the service of his country, this supported Socrates, when sentenced to the hemlock, and this enable many of the antient philosophers to bear, without repining, all the evils of poverty. But when the mind is no longer confirmed by the pleasing prospect of numbers, ready to give their plaudits ; when a dismal dungeon threatens every moment to extinguish, with his life, the memory of the man ; when an infamous train of bloody assassins, acting under the authority of the monarch, for the purpose of destroying those persons, who should be the objects of both his parental affection and protection, have, through the enervation of the body, enfeebled the mind ; what resource remains for the utmost magnanimity ? To die is nothing, but to expect death at every hour, convinced that it will be attended with every circumstance of inhumanity, which may be expected from ruffians, accustomed to imbrue their hands in the blood of the innocent, (for never did a person die in these infernal cells, whom they dared to expose to the people on a scaffold) must harrow human nature, and force the wretched sufferer to blaspheme against his Creator. Mr. Burke has felt, and his feelings do him honor, for the cruel treatment of the degraded monarch, and still more so for that of his beautiful consort : but what a heart must he have, who is so sensibly affected by barbarities, intended though not committed ; yet cannot drop a sympathetic tear on the real tragedies, which were daily performed under
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the midnight darkness of that infamous Bastile. Do the charms of a citizen's wife inflame the bosom of any officer in a Bureau, if the lady is of a complying disposition, a *lettre de cachet* is immediately prepared, to prevent the importunities of a troublesome husband, dooming him to a gloomy dungeon, while she is led in the full glare of her shame, through illuminated apartments, to an adulterous bed? But if she should possess the rare quality of constancy, what horrible evils has she not to apprehend? The same authority tears from her arms the partner of her joys, and forces innocence to become the intercessor for innocence. However, no sooner does she enter the gates of the man in power, than the whole secret is immediately disclosed; the arts of insinuation are at first essayed, but finding these ineffectual, force at length usurps the place of persuasion, and she is hurried shrieking and struggling, to the hated bed of the ravisher, whose unnatural appetite, while it revels in her charms, exults in her agonies and triumphs in her abhorrence. Relieved from the hateful presence of a monster, she is at length given over to more cool, but not less poignant affliction; and while her soul doats on her confined husband, she is obliged to reprobate the passion which occasioned her destruction. To whom can she repeat her sufferings? The station of the offender precludes all hopes of redress from the superior powers, and if she vents her sorrows to the multitude, she meets contempt from some, and ridicule from others. Thus, her mind fraught with more anguish, than ever vice yet earned, she is forced, either, to put an end to herself and her sufferings, or wait 'till her swollen heart shall burst with indignation. The husband also, conscious of no crime, perceives too clearly the design of his confinement, and with all the terrors of fancy anticipates the consequences.

Wretched

Wretched man, what can he do? Brutal force prevents him from attempting to protect the object of his affections, nay death itself, the asylum of the wretched, is denied to him, 'till, with imagination or fire, he seeks relief from the dungeon which surrounds him, and dashes with his brains the hateful walls. If the king had suffered from the frantic barbarity of an incensed mob, driven, &c. Driven to madness by a recollection of the tyrannic insolence with which his grandfather treated the parliament of Paris, and the haughty refusal which he himself gave to the united solicitations of all the tribunals in the kingdom; he would have merely shared the fate of the brave Coligni, with this striking difference however, that Lewis would have paid the forfeit of his own errors, whereas the gallant admiral was guilty of no misconduct, but that of suffering himself to be decoyed to his fate by the infamous ancestor of the degraded monarch.—Having striven to shew the destructive tendency of that chivalry which Mr. Burke so much admires, I shall now attempt to sketch out such a picture of Europe in general, and of France in particular, as they would probably exhibit at present, if such a spirit had never been introduced. The barons, strongly attached to their territorial honours and jurisdiction, were very unwilling to quit the precincts of the fief, in which they exercised all the rights of sovereignty. Had not, therefore, the refined pleasures of the court, and the powerful attractions of gallantry, drawn them reluctant from their fortresses, they would have retained, for a much longer time, a total abhorrence of arbitrary power. The ladies would not then have possessed much unlimited influence, nor the courtiers have reflected with double lustre on the monarch (in total contradiction to the planetary system) those rays of light which they had originally

nally derived from his presence; the former, like the women of the ancient world, would have been confined entirely to domestic employments, and not have become tools in the perversion of states. What engine could monarchs then play off against the power of the barons? There remained for them nothing but to draw forth the people from a station of insignificance, into a respectable rank, which purpose could be effected, merely by granting encouragement to the arts, and to commerce. From the moment of its establishment, the standing army of the monarch would have rendered to the undebauched barons his increasing power, an object of abhorrence, and incline them to wish for even the elevation of the people, in hopes of checking his arbitrary designs; whereas the spirit of chivalry, rendering, through the influence of the fair sex, both the barons and cavaliers, mere dependents on the will of the prince, taught them first to pay implicit obedience to his commands, and afterwards to glory in their very servility. The arts, gradually introduced, must have appeared in their natural order, and have have been universally distributed; nor would the vanity of courts have prematurely ushered into the metropolis those of an ornamental kind, while those of utility languished in obscurity, and the barons would have perceived as clearly as the prince, that their interest directed them to grant encouragement to each in a proper succession. The advancement of the useful and ornamental, must be speedily followed by the introduction of the polite arts, which must soon communicate a taste for science; in this case, the turbulent spirit of independence in the barons, would have yielded, not to a passion for the refined pleasures of a court, but to the improvement of human reason, and to just conceptions of government. The ladies, originally nothing better than housekeepers,

ers, would have gradually proceeded from these servile occupations to the more elegant works of the needle, and from those to others of still greater taste and fancy. The charms of music, painting and poetry would soften their minds, embellish their manners, and communicate an inclination for still more rational acquisitions; geography would speedily lead them in their closet to a perfect intimacy with all parts of this globe, and astronomy expanding their minds by a minute acquaintance with the wonders of the universe, would naturally impress their souls with a due sense of the Creator. When both sexes were thus formed for intellectual pleasures, the senses would be called on as mere casual assistants, and all gratifications would not be made to center in them; formed for society, for friendship and love; they would captivate by all the attractions of innocence, and the flame, lighted up by the lustre of native beauty, supported also by the unaffected charms of the mind, would burn pure through the remainder of life. The conversation of the men would be distinguished by a politeness of the heart towards the entire sex, and the fondest attentions towards the object of their affections; the fair would meet them with all the unrestrained familiarity of sisters, and each charming girl, untainted by vice, and fearless of deception, would accost her lover with all the pride of unsuspecting and self-commanding virtue. The men, giving up the honest roughness of their rustic minds, not as a sacrifice to politeness, but as a tribute to reason, must become equally cautious of lavishing praises on the undeserving, and of suffering merit to pass without the due tribute of applause; nay, the ladies too, perfectly untutored in the fashionable world, might be taught to esteem fallacy a crime. When once the lights of philosophy had thus established the dominion of reason,

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every form of government must, of course, become good ; the same wisdom which established it, necessarily preserving both the principle and spirit of it perfectly untainted. But never could a more beautiful system have been fabricated by the united force of the most intelligent minds, than chance in that instance would have presented to them.—The monarchy and aristocracy, bounden by their interests during the reign of ignorance, mutually to wish for the elevation of the people, who, under the oppressions of the feudal government, were trampled down to the level of reptiles, must speedily place them in a respectable line. Let not Mr. Burke object, that the nobility of Europe has been ever ready to bury itself with the monarch under the ruins of the throne. I allow their promptitude, but must assert, that it originated in the spirit of chivalry, which at first rendered them tools to, and afterwards servile dependents on, the prince.—From the gradual illumination of the monarch, of the barons, and of the people, the most favourable augury might have been formed with respect to the future prosperity of Europe. The prince, not accustomed to the gratifications of luxury, to the ostentatious parade of a glittering court, not taught to consider adulation as the better part of his aliment, would not be under the necessity of requiring vast subsidies from his subjects, nor would they be ever ready to comply with his demands. The standing army of the monarch, being therefore, proportional to a limited revenue, the least increase of it tending to alarm both the nobles and the people ; the honours of the barons being purely territorial, and liable, neither to be increased or diminished, according to the designs which caprice or ambition might suggest to the prince, his policy not allowing an addition of strength to that body and the constitution annexing inseparably the dig-

nity to the fief, the privileges also of the people being fixed and immutable, here would have been an equilibrium formed by chance, which reason must admire, but could scarcely hope to imitate. In fact, this would have been the utmost perfection of that beautiful system, which our ancestors found in the woods. According to this natural progression of things, the revenue of the state increasing in proportion to the industry and illumination of each country, the united wisdom of the nobles and people would never permit too great an influx of it into the royal coffers, while the mind of the monarch, being equally enlightened with that of the people, would be readily satisfied with the subsidies granted by them, and the portion of power which they were pleased to delegate, willingly changing the dominion of force for that of affection. Then would the empire of reason, in reality, as in appearance, mitigate kings into companions, and raise private men to be fellows with kings; then would not Mr. Burke be under the necessity of regretting the pleasing illusions which made power gentle, (or more properly speaking) civil to the person by day, whom it had condemned at night to death, to confinement in the Bastile, or in an iron cage for the remainder of his life, nor need he then repine at the loss of that liberal obedience which consisted in the arts of the flatterer and pander. He need not then fear to expose the nakedness of human nature; for it would appear resplendent with the roseate beauties of an *Αφροδιτη αναδυνη*, springing from the foam of her native surges. There would then be no necessity for a prejudice to guard the life of a king or queen; morals and laws would insure safety to all persons, securing due respect to the chief magistrate in the state. Had the eyes of women not been dazzled by the false brilliancy of courts, and their minds not been debauched

debauched by the false refinements of sentiment, concealing what is disgusting in animal passion, for the purpose of giving up the sexes to the unlimited gratification of it; had Ethicks acquainted them with their relative duties in life before they were set forth to exercise them on the grand theatre of the world, and had reason assured them, that confession, penance, fasting and masses would prove no compensation for the neglect of any obligation; it is exceedingly evident that both morals and religion would be infinitely more pure. It is, indeed, to the want of an early introduced politeness, to our comparative freedom from the spirit of a refined gallantry, to the gradual progress of letters, to the liberty, not only of thinking, but also of speaking and publishing our thoughts, that we are indebted for our present constitution, both in church and state. The reverse of these intailed on France, an absolute monarchy and a bigotted superstition, each of which mutually tended to support the other. The Church of Rome has ever been the firm defender of arbitrary power, and that assistance which the monarch derived from her in the government of his subjects, he repaid to her with interest, by inhibiting, under the severest penalties, all persons to attempt contradicting her doctrines. When it became equally dangerous to deny the real presence in the Eucharist, and to blaspheme against the Omnipotent; when the works of Spinoza might be read with the same safety as those of Luther and Calvin, all inquiries on religious subjects were, in a great measure suspended, and men quietly acquiesced in all the absurdities of holy mother church. But the least illumination must speedily convince them, how contradictory many doctrines were to the first simple suggestions of reason, and of course a belief in them became irreconcilable with science; but as extremes naturally produced each other,

other, the man, who admitted in contradiction to reason every article of the Catholic faith, convinced of his error, might soon be induced to deny even the truths which the former principle warranted. The clandestine manner in which all books of religious controversy were offered to sale in France, might also prevent a discussion of their merits, while the greater part of mankind, excluded from the advantages of a liberal education, and totally unaccustomed to reason on such subjects, reading them likewise with the participation induced by fear, and never daring to promulge the contents, but in select companies, and before persons over whom they possessed authority, or whom they knew to be well inclined to the same opinions, no opposition could ever take place, and no lights of course, could be thrown upon the subject. Thus were formed in France two sets of men equally irrational, one of which implicitly swallowed every mystery of faith, and the other was inclined to resist demonstration, but this naturally flowed from the spirit of unlimited monarchy, and from that of chivalry its assistant. In England, things wore a very different aspect; lights were gradually communicated, and soon began the human intellect to exert itself on two subjects the most important to mankind, legislation and religion; for while the French were found to glory in the clank of their chains, a Sidney and a Locke taught their countrymen to support the common rights of mankind. A brutal tyrant, ever under the dominion of his passions, had, by denying the infallibility of the Pope, given a most deadly blow to authority, and excited men to a discussion of religious subjects, which the terrors of the faggot were afterwards unable to suppress; but when the scriptures became the only rule of faith, and every person assumed the liberty of interpreting them at pleasure, a variety of opinions

nions were speedily broached. The flame of religious zeal once bursting forth, the pulpit thundered with the vociferation of controversialists, and the press teemed with polemick divinity ; none of the parties indeed, were able to gain any advantage over the others, but two good consequences notwithstanding ensued, the habit of reasoning taught them to reason more justly, and if not convinced, they were weary of arguing ; at length the lights of philosophy, which now began to irradiate all Europe, gave a different turn to the minds of men, inducing moderation and an abhorrence of controversy. Having attempted to shew that the spirit of chivalry, carried to the utmost extent, intailed on France an arbitrary government, and that the comparative want of it procured to England a limited monarchy. I shall at present proceed to inquire, whether France could receive her ancient constitution renovated, or adopt that of Great Britain.—Mr. Burke does not seem to have been well aware of the difficulties attendant on either undertaking : the monarch alone could, by restoring the nobility to their ancient splendour, the parliaments to their privileges, and the third estate to its respectability, check the evils occasioned by the despotism of Richelieu, and renovate the ancient constitution of France ; but that he was perfectly averse from this measure, and more desirous of imitating the conduct of his grandfather, cannot be denied. Montesquieu observes, page 321, * there are people in some states of Europe, who conceived the idea of abolishing the jurisdiction of the Lords. They

* Il y a des gens qui avoient imagine dans quelques etats en Europe, d'abolir toutes les justices des seigneurs. Ils ne voyoient pas qu'ils vouloient faire ce que le parlement d'Angleterre a fait. Abolissez dans une monarchie les prerogatives des seigneurs, du clerge, de la noblesse, et des villes, vous aurez bientot un etat populaire, ou bien un etat despotique.

did not see that they wished to do that which the parliament of England did. Abolish in a monarchy the prerogatives of the lords, of the clergy, of the nobility, and of the cities, you will speedily have a despotic or a popular state: destroy those of the three first and you have a democracy; destroy those of the latter also and you have a despotism. Had not the spirit of chivalry checked the gradual progress of the intellect, in the acquisition of lights; had it not forced the nation from the one extreme of superstition, to the opposite of atheism, and from ideas of the most abject slavery, into the wildest notions of liberty: had not the prince, more studious of dismembering the empire of Great Britain, than of establishing his own power on a permanent basis, by a proper limitation of it, sent forth his troops in aid of a nation who had ever confounded the freedom with the power of the people, suffering them to continue such a long time among them, that they acquired not only false notions of government, but enthusiasm in favour of them, they might perhaps have recurred with advantage to their own constitution at a more early period; but the first act of resistance to the will of the monarch, placed them in the same state with Cæsar passing the Rubicon; the dye was thrown, and they were obliged, either to subvert the former government from the very foundations, or to pay their lives as the forfeit for the attempt; besides Mr. Burke offers his advice at a period when it was totally impossible to receive it, the National Assembly having destroyed all pre-eminences, on which honour, whether true or false, was accustomed to plume itself. I must now ask this ingenious gentleman, why he would wish to renovate the ancient constitution of France, when the principle which should support it no longer exists? Would he desire to have the nation rescued from the purgatory

gatory of absolute monarchy, merely for the purpose of plunging it with certainty into the hell of despotism. Without the smallest check on the executive power at present, without the weakest barrier against its future incroachments, without even the mock restraint of those gentle manners, which he supposes the natural productions of courts (for all these were effectually destroyed by the late revolution) Mr. Burke would submit the revenue of the state, and a large standing army to the command of a monarch, incensed by the recollection of personal indignities and diminished power. Not content with absolute monarchy, and the Popish superstition; not satisfied with laws, which the will of the prince might silence on any occasion; would he subject the unhappy nation to the fury of a despot, and the terrors of a religion, equally fierce with mahometism, which maintains that the Sultan is not bounden by his oath, if it should tend to limit his authority, for such a form alone would suit the new projected monarchy of Mr. Burke? Would he wish to render the momentary whim of the Cadi, the judge of their properties and their lives, and their characters; or would he, as at Bantam, establish the sovereign heir to the property of all his subjects, and even make the wretched offspring a part of the inheritance, allowing them to be sold like beasts in a market?—Would he be pleased, in fine, that the command of the Sultan should regulate the stipend which each person was to pay to the exigencies of the state, and that the Janazaries should levy it by the point of the bayonet? If in the present circumstances of the National Assembly, their ancient monarchy would not answer, the constitution of Great Britain would by no means prove suitable to them; the total discordance in the original frame of either governments, would prevent the possibility of our worn out system

tem ever becoming a model to their nascent state; the parliament of France were repositories of the laws, and mere courts of judicature; their nobles formed no standing branch of the legislative body; nor were the deputies of the tiers etat summoned but occasionally.—We have often heard of quacks attempting to prolong the life of man, by transfusing into his veins the blood of some young animal, but never did the merest mountebank conceive the idea of uniting the bloom of youth with the wrinkles of age; this would be, in fact, making of the nation and constitution a janus bifrons, one face representing an Antinous, and the other a Tithonus.—As the constitution of England is so relatively unfit for France, on what can the recommendation of it be grounded, but on a supposition of its containing absolute perfection? I shall therefore, now venture a few observations on this subject.—Montesquieu, who was certainly very partial to the British constitution, and observed it at a time when it certainly merited more encomiums than at present has, notwithstanding, emphatically predicted its destruction, and the cause, which will occasion it. As (says he) all human things have a conclusion, the state of which we speak will lose its liberty, it will perish. Rome, Lacedemon, and Carthage * have perished. It will perish when the legislative power shall be more corrupt than the executive.—This observation of our judicious author, has been generally considered by his less subtle critics, as one of those mistakes, *quas natura parum cavet humana*, and they maintain that he should have said, when the legisla-

* First Volume, page 333. Comme toutes les choses humaines ont un fin, l'état, dont nous parlons, perdra sa liberté, il périra. Rome, Lacédémone, et Carthage, ont bien péri. Il périra, lorsque la puissance législative sera plus corrompue, que l'exécutrice.

tive power shall be corrupted by the executive. But this was very far distant from the idea of the ingenious author : he perceived that our constitution had sprung from the imperfection of the feudal government, and had a natural tendency to terminate in it, he foresaw, that while the principles of the three component parts remained untainted, the excellence of the institution would enable the people under them to perform such great actions, as must at first relax and afterwards tend to substitute others for them. Conquest would impress men rather with the lust of dominion, than with the love of liberty. —An addition of territory would give encouragement to commerce and military enterprise ; the successful adventurers must naturally claim some consideration in the state, their wealth must naturally introduce them to the lower House of Parliament, and finally to the upper ; while the constant contention between ancient honors, and those which were lately bartered for gold, must banish from that body the very shadow of moderation. A powerful nobility also, enjoying hereditary honors, and possessing in the House of Commons an influence superior to that of the people, would soon be inclined to spurn at the source of their splendour, wishing to have it considered, as self derived, and to reduce the people to their original state of vassalage. The Nobles possessing a large number of the decayed boroughs, that rotten part of the British constitution, besides vast influence in the counties and great cities, would soon fill the House of Commons with their sons and dependants, the former of whom, looking forward to their state of future elevation, would be on every occasion inclined, and the latter compelled to betray the dearest rights of their constituents. Whenever a member of the lower house had acquired considerable wealth and power, his trans-

station to the upper house became the necessary consequence, and thus was a daily accession of weight given to a part of the constitution, which already over-balanced the other two branches of the legislative body. The constant influx of wealth from either Indies, continually supported the inequality of fortunes, but wealth and power being nearly connected, as force and necessity, the road was ever opened for the introduction of a more numerous nobility; thus did the House of Commons become purely ancillary to the ambition of the peers, and thus was the Prince or Minister, obliged to preserve the very shadow of power, by constantly gratifying their most extravagant demands.—From this moment, the business of a financier was confined (in diametrical opposition to his real duty,) within the narrow precincts of levying taxes, not on the luxuries of life, for such would chiefly affect the nobility, but on the necessaries, which distress merely the people. From this moment, the Colonies were taxed, not for the purpose of raising a revenue, but for that of introducing a list of scoundrels into office; and though they offered to contribute most liberally to our present necessities for our former support of them, requesting merely, their natural right of taxing themselves, and asserting that the sums levied would, by no means pay the salaries of the collectors; still was the minister under the deplorable necessity of neglecting their complaints, and insulting them in their afflictions.—Was the constitution which forced our Colonies to revolt, a subject for praise, and the dismemberment of the British empire, an object of desire to the person who loves extended sway, and fulness of power? Does Mr. Burke, who plumes himself on the official purity of his hands, admire a form of government, which tends to establish legal brokers,

brokers, for the purpose of transferring to the nobility the rights of the people, allowing to every person concerned in this laudable transaction, an income of some hundreds, or thousands a year, for the valuable consideration of violating their honour and their oath, the former pledged individually to their constituents, and the latter mutually to each other, before the originally most useful branch of the legislature.—At this very moment the British constitution exists merely by sufferance, and whenever the minister is unable to gratify the extravagant desires of the leading nobility, the body feeling their own weight will quickly unite in the pursuits of their separate interests, the cyphers of King and Commons will be speedily abolished, and we shall remain under an aristocracy, by far more rigid than that of Venice, because the constitution had made no preparation for such an event.—What madness then is it to introduce as a model of absolute, that which was at best but a doubtful copy of relative perfection, and to introduce it in total contradiction to reason and analogy.—I readily admit that the extent of territory, the wealth of the state, her commerce, and her arts seem to exclude the possibility of a democracy in France; I allow that this is conformable with the experience of all ages, and the reasoning of the ablest politicians, but still is a fœderal republick presented to their view, a form of government which admirably corresponds with the different laws and customs prevailing in the several provinces, while the humble state of the present monarch, may fully adapt him to the office of chief magistrate in such a constitution.—Mr. Burke next proceeds to censure the conduct of the National Assembly, with respect to their treatment of the nobility and mitred clergy, extolling at the same time the different conduct of the English.

English.—But what does he mean by this? is he such an enemy to the common rights of men, that in contradiction to the opinion of all mankind, he conceives it more criminal to rob them of superfluities, than of a bare physical support? Is he such a slave to rank and state, or so much swayed by the prejudices in favour thereof, that he conceives them to convey an additional title to impartial justice? but had he been half as attentive to philosophy, as to oratory, he would have said with Plutarch, “that law is the queen of mortals and immortals,” nor could he for a moment, support the idea of any thing less than a violation of law, depriving them of that property which she had conferred on them.—He says of the English, they can see without pain, or grudging, an Archbishop to precede a Duke, they can see a Bishop of Durham, or a Bishop of Winchester in possession of ten thousand pounds a year, and cannot conceive why it is in worse hands than estates to the like amount in the hands of this Earl or that Squire.—Thus does he giving up reason, recur to authority, but as publick justice has ever disclaimed so paltry an assistant, I suppose he designs this *argumentum ad vere cundiam*, merely as a proof of their impolicy, in confiscating the properties of the nobility and the bishops—but if this was his design, he has very poorly executed it; for equally attached to art, and averse from argument, instead of fairly proposing the question, he merely flurs it over. In order to prove from the example of England, the impolicy of the act, he should have shown first, that the clergy of France and of England, were exactly in similar circumstances.—Secondly, that the clergy of France were as necessary to the support of the new intended government, as ours are to that of the British constitution.—Lastly, that they would have obtained greater advantages by abstaining

staining from the confiscation.—Now in the first instance, there does not subsist the shadow of an analogy between the clergy of the two nations: the reformation which took place under Henry the Eighth, freed us from the weight of the regular clergy; whereas France groaned under their load, and others that followed introduced great changes of doctrine, and of discipline.—The clergy of France, condemned to celibacy, are a dead incumbrance on the nation, to which they make no return for their support by propagating the species; that of England, admitted to marriage, but restrained by their character from unlawful gratifications of passion, are found to produce children in greater numbers than the laity.—The mitred clergy of France have very large incomes, which are relatively increased by the comparison of opulence, destined to the support of an individual, with the poverty generally prevailing among very large families; in England they are comparatively moderate, and rendered still more so, by the proportional affluence of all their countrymen, by the necessity of supporting and providing for a numerous family, by the expence of attending parliament, and the precarious tenure by which their property is holden.—Secondly, as a Republican form of government was the object of their wishes, Popery instead of supporting, must prove subversive of it, since this religion has ever been the defender of arbitrary power.—Episcopacy too has always pleaded the cause of prerogative, the National Assembly should therefore have established Calvinism the religion of the state, have secularized the bishops and regulars, obliging the parochial clergy either to conform, or to keep a Calvinist curate; but allowing them all the enjoyment of their incomes.—Lastly, whether they would have obtained greater advantages by abstaining from confiscation.

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—The madness of the project (says he) on the plan that was first pretended, soon became apparent. To bring this unwieldy mass of landed property, enlarged by the confiscation of all the vast landed domain of the crown, at once into market, was obviously to defeat the profits proposed by the confiscation, by depreciating the value of those lands, and indeed of all the landed estates throughout France. —This is self-evident, but Mr. Burke's kind concern never engaged him to propose any method of redressing an evil, which necessarily resulted from their desire of establishing a Republican government; yet would he deem that man a very bad physician, who, seeing his patient attacked by a dangerous malady, contented himself with saying, your case indeed is truly deplorable, yet never prescribed the slightest remedy.—The National Assembly has, by confiscation, obtained at least, a temporary supply of their immediate wants, a considerable advantage in their distressed situation; nay it seems probable, that by putting the purchasers in possession of the confiscated lands, on payment of a certain proportion of the money for which they sold, (a measure to him peculiarly offensive) they may obviate the inconvenience of bringing this unwieldy mass of landed property at once into market, and by stipulating that the remainder shall be discharged by annual payments, they may provide a revenue sufficient to supply the exigencies of the state in any distresses, which the revolution can involve.—But had Mr. Burke been less an enemy to the Rights of Men, and had studied Locke and Montesquieu, with the same care that he did Machiavel and Bolinbrooke, he would have perceived a more effectual remedy for the enormous wealth of the nobility and clergy, than a confiscation of their property; he would have recommended to the National Assembly a federal Republick,

Republick, which ruling by equal laws, must protect the fortune of its subjects from the slightest encroachment.—Under such a government, the people convinced that a vast domain had been annexed to the crown by the rapacity of former monarchs, and granted by their prodigality, as appanages to the Princes of the blood, might with justice reclaim what injustice deprived them of, and reduce each to more modest extent.—They might decree that all titles should die with their present possessors, and might establish a gavel among the children of the nobility.—They might forbid the ordination of Catholics in future, applying the revenues of the regular clergy, as each body became extinct, to the exigencies of the state. Fearful of injuring, nay studious of serving the secular clergy individually, tho' they annihilated the body, they might enact that promotion should take place in due order among them, 'till they were all provided for; that they should ascend from inferior to superior preferments, and that such bishopricks or benefices, as became vacant for want of a Catholic priest to possess them, should then be added to the revenue of the state, on the contingency of which event, and the conjoined faith of the nation, they might raise by debentures a considerable fund. Mr. Burke asserts, and I believe that there are a number of Atheists in the National Assembly, but no person can persuade me, that their intentions could be to destroy all religion, and not to change that at present established. This would tend to subvert all civil society, the magistrate being no longer able to confide in the sanctity of an oath, equally to contradict the instincts of the human minds, and improved reason.—At worst, they could but wish to imitate the example of the ancient Romans, who giving up the vulgar to the uncontrolled dominion of their Priests and Augurs,

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permitted their actors to pronounce in the theatres, *post mortem nihil est, ipsaque mors nihil*, but why might he not suppose that the undisputed right of reasoning on all subjects, would ultimately render them more accurate reasoners with respect to the existence of a God; and could he not perceive, that when any man in the nation once argued consequentially, the cheerless gloom of Atheism, and the frightful visions of superstition must vanish together.—Mr. Burke next finds fault with their mode of dividing and taxing the kingdom; but of this no foreigner can form any competent idea, and my muddy intellects would be apt to infer that a d’Alambert, who has learned to lisp Mathematicks, the language of physicks, whose soul has been enlarged by a contemplation of the universe, and passions subdued by the precepts of philosophy, might be as capable of dividing, and equally taxing a state, as any flaming orator that ever headed a party.—I have seen some criticisms on the style of Mr. Burke, and might be capable of adding to the number, but attentive merely to matter, I totally neglect manner; one insult however, offered to the understanding of the whole British Empire, I cannot avoid taking notice of, as he seems to suppose that he can cram any drug down their throats, however disgusting it may prove to their palates, if disguised in the whip syllabub of eloquence, in proof of which read the following sentences, “their liberty is not liberal, their science is presumptuous ignorance, their humanity is savage and brutal.”

